

The Classical Bulletin

Published monthly except July, August, and September, by Loyola University Press, 3441 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Rev. James A. Kleist, S. J., Editor. Subscription price: \$1.00 a Year.

Entered as second class matter December 14, 1927, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. XI

DECEMBER, 1934

No. 3

The Ballad Spirit in Vergil's "Gathering of the Clans"

Rhythm is natural to man. He needs no canons of art to teach him to sing his dirges in slow, sad numbers, or his marching songs in a strong, swinging and recurrent melody. His songs of love, his lullabies, his drinking or fighting songs—each type has its own lilt, expressive of the mood that gives it birth. The strings of the human vocal instrument are set in motion, not from without, by a hand that wields the plectrum, but from within, by an instinct in the depth of the soul. Consequently, if at any time the ballad spirit stirs in a poet's soul, there will be a ballad rhythm able to express it.

Now all this applies with special force to songs of patriotism. The love that binds even primitive man to the soil answers to a universal need, and we may expect that it should find vent among all nations in a clear and ringing rhythm understood by all. A rhythm natural to this emotion is that which we are wont to associate with the Ballad, a type of lyric that often glories in strength of country, in martial prowess, in heroes and heroic deeds of arms. It is no mere chance, therefore, that Vergil's "Gathering of the Clans," though a notable portion of his great epic (7. 641-817), yet shows traces of the ballad spirit, a spirit suited to its theme, the glorification of ancient Italy. Patriotism and the ballad tone are near of kin. Kipling's *Border Tales*, Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, Chesterton's *Lepanto* and *The White Horse*—each and all are instinct with noble patriotism. Of course, in Vergil's patriotic pageant we shall not look for the ballad stanza to replace his dactylic hexameter, nor expect to hear a refrain recurring every few lines.¹ But we should find in it the genuine spirit of the ballad, something of the vigor and music of ballad rhythm, some repetition of epithets, and even some individual lines more ballad-like than epic in tone. It is a further matter of course that in the Aeneid the ballad spirit shows only when and where the poet evokes it from the more quiet epic environment.

Thus, in a ballad line throbbing with martial music and marked by effective repetition, Vergil sums up a description of marching men:

Aerataeque micant peltae, micat aereus ensis.
... their swords
Were flashing bronze, bronze-plated were their shields,
7. 743

a line all the more "flashing" when set off against, let us say, the quiet strain in which a pleasing myth may be told, as in:

Collis Aventini silva quem Rhea sacerdos
furtivum partu sub luminis edidit oras,
mixta deo mulier, postquam Laurentia victor
Geryone extincto Tirynthius attigit arva,
Tyrrhenoque boves in flumine lavit Hiberas.
7. 659-663

There is a similar transition from placid epic to ringing ballad in the following two selections:

Ibat et Hippolyti proles pulcherrima bello,
Virbius, insignem quem mater Aricia misit,
eductum Egeriae lucis, umentia circum
litora, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianae.
7. 761-764

Exercebat equos, curruque in bella ruebat.
7. 782

Perhaps such changes in rhythm and spirit as accompany changes in subject-matter are at times somewhat subtle; but there are manifestations of the ballad spirit that are quite obvious and easy to detect. Thus, after the solemn invocation of the Muses in the well-known lines 641-646, Vergil turns abruptly to describe the captains leading the first columns of warriors. The rhythm cannot be misread:

Primus init bellum Tyrrhenis asper ab oris
contemptor divum Mezentius agminaque armat.
Filius huic iuxta Lausus, quo pulchrior alter
non fuit, excepto Laurentis corpore Turni.
Lausus, equum domitor debellatorque ferarum,
ducit Agyllina nequiquam ex urbe secutos
mille viros, dignus patriis qui laetior esset
imperii, et cui pater haud Mezentius esset.
7. 647-654

Mr. Sidgwick² has noted that the Homeric poems exhibit several of the characteristics of the ballad. The same is true of the Aeneid. We find some of these traits in the lines just quoted, as, for instance, the use of the epithet, so common in all ballad poetry. Mezentius is *asper* and *contemptor divum*, just as in Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* Sextus stands forever branded in the reader's imagination as *false*:

Their leader was false Sextus
That wrought the deed of shame.

False Sextus rode out foremost,
His look was high and bold.
(*Battle of the Lake Regillus*. Cantos 12 and 15)

In contrast to "harsh Mezentius" Lausus is *pulcher*, indeed, *quo pulchrior alter non fuit*, while the *contemptor divum* is matched by the *equum domitor* and *debellator ferarum*. Further noteworthy traits of the genuine ballad spirit are the repetition of the proper name

Lausus and, added to the name, a mournful reflection on the part of the poet: the princely youth was worthy of a better sire:

... dignus patriis qui laetior esset
imperii, et cui pater haud Mezentius esset.

Similarly in Canto 13 of *The Battle of the Lake Regillus* the pathos is deepened by the repetition of *Titus* and the sad reflection added by the poet:

The Roman exiles gathered close
Around their ancient king . . .
Close at his side was Titus
On an Apulian steed,
Titus, the youngest Tarquin,
Too good for such a breed.

In the following passage the use of *pulcher* in a different case and applied to a different person is made still more striking by juxtaposition:

Post hos insignem palma per gramina curram
victoresque ostentat equos satus Hercule pulchro
pulcher Aventinus.

7. 655-657

Macaulay achieves a like effectiveness by his repetition of the epithet *brave* in the lines:

Herminius glared on Sextus
And came with eagle speed,
Herminius on black Auster,
Brave champion on brave steed.
(*Lake Regillus*, Canto 15)

Vergil's admirable description of *Clausus* and his levy forms a little ballad by itself. Note the dramatic introduction: *ecce*. The use of *magni agminis* shortly after *magnum agmen* is not mere empty rhetoric. As the leader, so his levy!

Ece, Sabinorum prisco de sanguine magnum
agmen agens Clausus magnique ipse agminis instar.
7. 706-707

Similarly Macaulay introduces his sketch of the most formidable opponent of brave *Horatius*:

But hark! the cry is Astur:
And lo! the ranks divide:
And the great lord of Luna
Comes with his stately stride.
(*Horatius*, Canto 42)

To make the ballad tone in Vergil's account of the levy that follows *Clausus* more palpable, we need only break the lines into the short phrases of which they consist and write these colometrically. The repetition of the relative pronoun leaves an impression of great numerical strength, of company after company marching in battle array, until the field is covered with men-at-arms. All Italy, so it would seem, is ablaze in this mighty war:

Qui Nomentum urbem,
qui Rosea rura Velini,
qui Tetricae horrentis rupes
montemque Severum Casperiamque colunt
Forulosque et flumen Himellae,
qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt,
quos frigida misit Nursia,

et Ortinae classes populi Latini,
quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen:

Quam multi Libyeo volvuntur marmore fluctus.
7. 712-718

As city after city pours out its contingent, an exact figure to express their numbers would be unpoetical, pedantic, and—inadequate. The only fitting method of counting the hosts is by a bold and summary comparison to represent them as countless:

Quam multi Libyeo volvuntur marmore fluctus,
vel cum sole novo densae torrentur aristae.
7. 718, 720

Here again *The Battle of the Lake Regillus* supplies a parallel; the impression of vast numbers is due in part to the repetition of the preposition *from*:

From every warlike city
That boasts the Latin name,
Foredoomed to dogs and vultures,
That gallant army came:

From Setia's purple vineyards,
From Norba's ancient wall,
From the white streets of Tusculum,
The proudest town of all;
From where the Witche's fortress
O'erhangs the dark-blue seas;
From the still glassy lake that sleeps
Beneath Aricia's trees.

(Canto 10)

And thus the enumeration continues until it is summed up in a grand simile:

The rush of squadrons sweeping
Like whirlwinds o'er the plain.
(Canto 15)

Vergil likes to finish off his descriptions with a ringing line that could almost serve as a refrain for each hero and his levy. In the following line the alliteration in *scuta sonant* and *pulsu pedum*, with the assonance in *conterrita tellus*, calls up the vision of a great host in measured steps:

Scuta sonant, pulsuque pedum conterrita tellus.
7. 722

Macaulay uses the same device to produce a like effect:

And louder still, and still more loud
From underneath that rolling cloud
Is heard the trumpet's war note proud,
The trampling and the hum.
(*Horatius*, Canto 21)

One could go on pointing out similarities⁸ in expressing the ballad spirit, between "The Gathering of the Clans" and Macaulay's lays, as, for instance, the lavish use of colorful epithets. Thus Vergil's *gelidus Ufens* is matched by Macaulay's "the drear banks of *Ufens*"; Vergil's *malifera Abella* by Macaulay's "From where the apple blossoms wave"; the former's *aeratae peltae* and *aereus ensis* by the latter's:

Red with gore their armour was,
Their steeds were red with gore.
(*Lake Regillus*, Canto 37)

But let it suffice to quote one more example to show that, after attentively reading Macaulay, one can easily hear the genuine ballad accent⁴ in his great Roman predecessor. Ballads are apt to flash forth, in a pregnant line or two, a certain depth of feeling, the "tears of things," we may say; and in the midst of a stirring description there often comes unannounced and unexpected a simple word or phrase that tells a whole tragedy. Lausus, who attracts our attention by his beauty and military prowess, rides at the head of a thousand men, *mille viros*—but what men!

Ducit Agyllina—nequiquam ex urbe secutos—
mille viros. 7. 652

The two following selections from Macaulay can be directly compared with one from Vergil:

In his right hand the broadsword
That kept the bridge so well,
And on his helm the crown he won
When proud Fidenae fell.
Woe to the maid whose lover
Shall cross his path to-day.

Next under those red-horse hoofs
Flaccus of Setia lay;
Better had he been pruning
Among his elms that day.

(Lake Regillus, Canto 15 and 16)

Vergil represents *fortissimus Umbo* as skilled in healing the bite of serpents; but alas! his skill did not avail him to save his own life from the deadly sting of a Trojan spear:

Mulcebatque iras et morsus arte levabat.
Sed non Dardaniae medicari cupidus ictum
evaluit, neque eum iuvare in vulnera cantus
somniaferi et Marsis quaesitae montibus herbae.
7. 755-758

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West Baden, Indiana

JOSEPH F. HOGAN, S. J.

NOTES

1. Compare Browning's Cavalier Tune, discussed by F. H. Pritchard, *Studies in Literature*; London, Harrap; 1929; p. 19: Boot, saddle, to horse, and away! Rescue my Castle, before the hot day Brightens to blue from its silvery gray, (Chorus) Boot, saddle, to horse, and away!
2. F. Sidgwick, *The Ballad*, "The Art and Craft of Letters"; London, Secker; p. 31.
3. The ballad spirit is evident also in the early Ionian Elegy, as in the martial lines of Tyrtaeus (fr. 4 D) where the lilt is inseparably bound up with repetition and the use of epithets:
ἡμετέρω βασιλῆϊ, θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ,
ὄν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἶλομεν εὐρύχορον,
Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ φυτεύειν.
4. "Though the ballad is distinctly rooted in folk-song, it has, at the same time, a certain technique, which lifts it far above the category of dance rhymes. The universal characteristics of folk-song are as to substance, repetitions, interjections, and refrains, and although not one of the old Border Ballads illustrates all these characteristics, they are all to be found in the ballads taken collectively." Padraic Gregory, *The Old English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom"; 1932; p. 118.

Virginibus puerisque

From a school in England comes this pleasant line: "Will you again send me copies of the Classical Bulletin for 1934-5? May I say how much I appreciate the Bulletin! I place my copies in the School Library, and I frequently find my boys and girls reading with appreciation, particularly the Virgil articles." *Vivant sequentes!*

Membratim Reading of Latin

Classical Bulletin,
St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.

I enclose a check for two dollars to renew subscription to the Classical Bulletin with hope that it may be as good and as helpful to Latin teachers in the coming years as it has been in the past.

I was especially interested the past year in your articles on teaching how to read and translate through the medium of "sense lines."* For years past I have used this method of teaching Caesar, calling your "sense lines" *units of comprehension*. About ten years ago my sister and I had papers before various Latin clubs on this subject, but we couldn't "put it across."

From my investigation then I had come to the conclusion that we were demanding from our pupils, who had studied Latin one year, a harder task in reading Caesar in blocked form than was required from the Romans when the Commentaries were published or listened to or read aloud. So far as I could learn, the average number of letters in the lines of Latin of Caesar's manuscripts of his time ran from a possible twenty-two-letter minimum to an hexameter average maximum, thirty-two to thirty-seven or thirty-eight letters.

I made no scholarly study of the various points of the question, as I was interested only in its practical bearing on teaching pupils how to read with comprehension, silently or orally. I think the method is especially valuable in reading Latin aloud, and I came to the conclusion that each of those *membra* or *cola* (or, as you call them, "sense lines") made a mouthful and used the capacity of one breathing—even and measured for cold, calm, clear, brutal, and logical Caesar, shorter and swifter for Cicero, the emotional, excited orator.

As a student of Professor Hale in the old days I thought his method of weighing the grammatical possibilities of each word before you took up the next so preposterous a way of reading Latin as Latin that as a teacher I was forced to grope my way to *membratim* reading.

1134 Le Moyne Ave.,
Syracuse, N. Y.

Sincerely,
CELIA FORD

* (Ed. Note) Miss Ford is referring to several articles by Gilbert C. Peterson in the CLASSICAL BULLETIN: "Teaching the Gallic War as Caesar Wrote it," Vol. IX, pp. 25 and 47; "Sense-Lines—An Aid to Vocal Reading of Latin," X, 30; "Who's Afraid of Big, Bad Caesar?"; *ib.*, 62. Mr. Peterson's sense-line presentation of Cicero's *First Catilinarian* and *Pro Archia* is now available in print. Address: The CLASSICAL BULLETIN, St. Louis University.

The ancients assert that poetry is a kind of elementary philosophy, which takes us in our boyhood and introduces us to life and teaches us of character, feeling, action, and does it to our enjoyment.—*Strabo*, c. 15

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Vol. XI DECEMBER, 1934 No. 3

Editorial

The American Classical League, under the able leadership of Professor Flickinger of the University of Iowa as general chairman, is making every effort to promote the worthy celebration of the Horatian bimillennium throughout the nation. We hope that all schools and colleges where Latin is taught will enter the movement and co-operate with the League by presenting some sort of Horatian programme during the bimillennial year. Following are some helpful programme suggestions sent out by the headquarters of the League.

- (1) A play or pageant on Horace presented by students of the school.
- (2) A twenty-minute talk on Horace by the local teacher, followed by readings or recitations by several students of serious translations or comic modern versions of some of Horace's odes.
- (3) A twenty-minute talk by one of the students, followed by a brief play or by the singing of several of the odes set to music.
- (4) A Horatian exhibit, plus one of the above mentioned features.

Lecturers can be obtained by writing to the Chairman of the Lecture Committee, Dr. Rollin H. Tanner, American Classical League, New York University, Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

For selection of plays or pageants consult the Chairman of the Plays and Pageants Committee, Dr. Lillian B. Lawler, Department of Latin, Hunter College, New York, N. Y.

For further help concerning programmes consult the Chairman of the Committee on Programmes and Celebrations in Schools, Professor Horace W. Wright, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Penna., who may refer you for further aid to the committeeman of your own state. Return postage should be enclosed in all letters of inquiry.

The Cassandra Episode in the Agamemnon

It is said that Aeschylus was a mystic; he believed in the Delphic inspiration and took an interest in religious speculation. In an age of materialism, when men were beginning to suspect the politics of Delphi, the introduction of the Pythian element into a great play like the *Agamemnon* is enough to make the thoughtful reader pause and consider. Was it religion or art that made the poet put the *kommos* of the *Agamemnon* in the mouth of the fated Cassandra? Of the religious effect on the Greek audience one cannot speak adequately today. One can say, however, that the *kommos* is the masterstroke of the play. Let us see.

The great captain of the Trojan War, himself the victim doomed to tragic death, leads home as captive the most tragic victim in Troy. Here is irony such as the Greeks delighted in. The virgin prophetess, who saw her beloved city sink in ashes not only in the actuality of the horror of the tenth year but in the accumulated agony of its long fore-doom, is witness also of the destruction of Troy's destroyer, not in reality but in vision. It is this vision of Cassandra, like the searchlight of eternal truth, that plays upon the whole history of the House of Atreus, lighting up past, present, and future with all their lurking horrors. Cassandra herself, mouthpiece of Apollo, stands for Truth, which, scouted by men, gagged and persecuted, remains unalterable through all the changes decreed by Fate.

Inscrutable, fixed as a statue in the conqueror's ear, Cassandra views the reception of the victor, observes the tactics of Clytaemnestra, and watches the poisonous effect of subtle flattery on the lord of armies. Caught in the snare, Agamemnon, glorying in his strength, treads on purple to his doom. Already, as with a rising wind, the Chorus has caught the scent of death. Something perhaps in the fixed attitude of the prophetess freezes their blood, darkens their eyes; the thrill of horror that overtakes them is caught perhaps from her mere presence. The air is already tense when Clytaemnestra, having prevailed upon her husband, addresses her second victim in glozing words. And here the tragic effect is heightened by contrast. It is customary with Aeschylus to let the women in his tragedies take the foremost place. The real 'hero' of the *Agamemnon* is without doubt the 'manlike' queen. But it was against the poet's religious instincts to let perversity such as hers go unreproved. The remonstrance of the Chorus is weak; it is merely human. The voice of heaven itself must be raised against such outrage. And so we have Cassandra the victim. Falsehood triumphant is face to face with Truth in chains; vain eloquence flouts dumb Wisdom; shallow Sophistry flings scorn at obscure Contemplation. The speeches of Clytaemnestra are but the heat-lightning flashes that prelude the storm. She departs, and out of the silence of her going breaks forth the first cry of Cassandra: "Woe, woe! O earth! Apollo! O Apollo!" The *kommos* has begun—most terrible, most pitiful. The Chorus, obtuse, though sympathetic, draws forth from the doomed spirit things hidden from the beginning of the House of Atreus. "Truly," they

say, "this stranger seems, like the nice-scented hound, quick in the trace of blood . . ."

The spectacle of madness is always tragic. Here madness sounds the depths of woe, while it chills the blood with horror. The whole tale is told; not only the ancient crimes of the doomed house, but this 'new mischief'—intolerable, irreparable. Cassandra herself seems a Fury in visible form, whom the master himself has brought home only to call in seven others more terrible than herself. The spectacle of the murder, which is beyond the view of the audience, is described with harrowing details. And ever with the terror of anticipation is mingled the pity for this much-wronged maiden, who in soft lulling passages laments her fate and prays she may not feel the fierce, convulsive agonies of death, but gently sink, and close her eyes in peace. Thus in the *kommos*, which rises from a plaintive moan to blood-chilling screams, the whole plot is laid bare, so that the Chorus says: "Perspicuous this and clear! The newborn babe might comprehend it." Thus the dramatist anticipates a long and tiresome description after the climax is past.

Moreover, a double effect is achieved; the slow climb upward to the height of the tragedy renders the crash more awful when it comes. By the swan-song of Cassandra the poet is saved from a *deus ex machina*, which would be necessary to comment fittingly on a series of events too terrible and pitiful for the intellectual grasp of the slow-minded old men of the Chorus. In a situation too vast for human utterance he introduces a spirit like the wind, 'terrible and dear.' In face of crime Truth raises its voice in protest and is itself struck down. The accusing voice of Apollo cannot be forgotten for all the vain rejoicings of Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus. The *kommos* indicates that the *Agamemnon* is but the first play of a trilogy; the swan-song of Cassandra is the prelude to the *Choephoroe*.

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Notes on the Text and Interpretation of Horace

One who has read Horace carefully cannot fail to be surprised, that in spite of centuries of work by eminent scholars, so many places are left in which there is difference of opinion as to just what Horace wrote and exactly what he meant to say. The reason, of course, is that Horace's own version lies two millennia behind us and that since his time he has often been edited and emended, while many a scribe has contributed his quota of errors and what he thought to be corrections, as well as explanations in the form of *scholia*, or marginal notes, which in some instances have displaced the true readings.

In the time of the Flavian emperors, Marcus Valerius Probus, a native of Berytus in Syria, who spent a large part of his life in informal lecturing at Rome and in collecting manuscripts of the earlier Roman writers, prepared and published editions of Terence, Lucretius, Virgil and Horace, and perhaps also of Plautus,¹ which, as Suetonius tells us,² *emendare ac distinguere* (i. e.,

"punctuate") *et emendare curavit*. Of all his literary activity we possess only a list of abbreviations and a part of his commentary on Virgil; but we seem to owe to him the preservation of many writers of the classical and ante-classical periods, which in his time, as Suetonius also tells us, "were all held in contempt and brought rather reproach to those who read them than honor or profit."

In the first decades of the third century, Pomponius Porphyrio produced an annotated edition of Horace, which has come down to us in an abridged and fragmentary form, with some of the *lemmata*, or words and phrases which introduce the notes. He was doubtless responsible for numerous errors and interpolations, and is not to be trusted except when supported by other evidence. Eight of our existing manuscripts have after the *Epodes* the following note: *Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius legi et ut potui emendavi, conferente mihi magistro Felice, oratore urbis Romae*. We know that this Mavortius was consul at Rome in the year 527, and Vollmer³ believed that he made an edition of Horace from which all our manuscripts are descended; but this theory is generally discredited. Of course the colophon which is quoted above does not apply to the codices in which it is found, but was copied from earlier descendants of the manuscript of the consul of 527.

The task of an editor of Horace is to work back from the manuscripts which we possess, none of which is earlier than the ninth century, and most of which are more or less fragmentary, and reconstruct the archetypes of the Carolingian period; then to recover what he can of Porphyrio's version; and finally, to see whether quotations made by readers of the poet's works in ancient times, technically called *testimonia*, throw any additional light on what Horace actually wrote.

In the light of what has been said it is not surprising that the works of Horace in our best texts contain interpolations and errors of various kinds, and that it is well-nigh hopeless to try to go back of the edition of Porphyrio. As Vollmer says,⁴ *facilius est vitia editionis nobis traditae detegere quam ultra Porphyriorem sapere*. Let me hasten to say, however, that the situation is not so bad as it might at first thought appear, for the texts available to the general reader of Horace give him an adequate idea of the poet and his writings, in spite of the relatively minor uncertainties which are obvious to the textual and exegetical critics.

Naturally, in order to take the first step in this journey back to Horace, it was necessary to classify the two hundred and fifty or so codices that have survived, and to select the most valuable among them. Until that was done, the earlier editors made slight distinction among the manuscripts that were known to them, and not without reason distrusted those which they used. The consequence was that they indulged in many conjectures, some of which were brilliant. The greatest among these early editors was Richard Bentley, whose wide knowledge of the language and critical acumen made his *Horace* valuable for all time and have incorporated some of his conjectures in our modern texts, although not a

few have been rejected. One of his most brilliant emendations was *nitedula* for *vulpecula* in *Epist.*, i. 7. 29. This is now generally set aside in favor of the manuscript reading, which is supported also by *scholia* and *testimonia*; for example by Hieronymus, *Epist.*, 79. 3 (p. 726, Migne), who says: *docet et Aesopi fabula, plenum muris ventrem per angustum foramen egredi non valere. Vulpecula* is either taken in its literal sense, which is not inappropriate in a fable, or is explained as a variety of field-mouse, which derived its name from its red color.

The gigantic task of classifying the existing manuscripts was undertaken by Keller and Holder, who divided them into three classes. They then based their text⁵ in general on the agreement of two out of three of the classes. The reasons for adopting their readings are fully explained by Keller in his *Epilegomena zu Horaz*.⁶ The value of their edition is generally and cordially recognized; as Vollmer says,⁷ *nimirum semper suum sibi locum in actis criseos Horatianae vindicabit*. But their division into three classes, and the principle which they followed in constituting their text, have been abandoned; in the vigorous language of Garrod,⁸ *iam dudum penitus explosa est*. The recent critical editions select a relatively few of the best codices and divide them into two classes. As to the first class the editors mentioned are in substantial agreement. They include codices A (or a), B, C and E, and D.⁹ Besides these codices Vollmer adds K and Garrod M, while Fairclough includes both, and Lejay adds γ (*Parisinus*, 7975). The editors vary considerably in their lists of the second class. Garrod cites only four manuscripts, Vollmer and Fairclough eight, Lejay thirteen. The main difference of opinion is regarding R (*codex Vaticanus Reginae*), of the ninth century, believed by some to be our oldest manuscript. It was highly valued by Keller and Holder, who believed that the coincidence of B and R in nine cases out of ten gave the reading of the archetype. It is included in the second class except by Garrod, who rejects it entirely, calling it¹⁰ *codicem mixti generis, qui quantas turbas fecerit in apparatu Vollmeriano neminem nisi ipsum Vollmerum fallit*. These varying estimates of the second class lead to differences in the critical notes of the editors, and sometimes to different conclusions.

All the editors cite also V, the *Blandinianus Vetustissimus*, one of four manuscripts formerly in the Benedictine Abbaye de St. Pierre on Mt. Blandin, the modern Blankenburg. These were destroyed by the burning of the abbey in 1566, but they had been used by Jacques de Crusque (Cruquius) in his edition of 1577. He assigned V to the sixth century, but Vollmer and Garrod tentatively date it in the tenth, while Keller and Holder relegate it to the eleventh. Vollmer, and the German editors generally, put V in the second class. Garrod regards it as a source independent of both classes and rates it high, as do most British and American editors, as well as Lejay. British and American editors are also at variance with their German colleagues in their estimate of the honesty of Cruquius, who was unquestion-

ably guilty of carelessness and gross blunders, but apparently not of deliberate falsification. In one familiar passage (*Serm.*, i. 6. 126) V has the generally accepted reading of *campum lusumque trigonem*, in place of *rabiosi tempora signi* of all the codices except D, which has *rabido si tempore signi*, and the Gothanus, a fifteenth century manuscript which sometimes, as here, agrees with V. Garrod does not include this codex in his list, although he occasionally cites it, and in his critical note on *Serm.*, i. 1. 88 records its reading of *an sic* as perhaps right. Vollmer adds it to his second class with the note *raro adhibetur*, and in *Epist.*, i. 2. 5 accepts its reading of *detinet*. Wickham in his Preface, reprinted by Garrod, gives *Serm.*, i. 7. 17; ii. 3. 303, and ii. 8. 88 as additional examples of the coincidence of G with V. Garrod does not mention the former codex in his critical notes on these passages, in the first and third of which he accepts *pigrrior* and *albae* of V, while Vollmer rejects *pigrrior* and accepts *albae*. Both rightly reject the reading of V and G in the second passage.

Without going into further detail it may be said that V sometimes confirms the readings of the first class, sometimes agrees with the second, and sometimes is in harmony with both. Naturally, it has its due share of errors, as in *Odes*, iv. 6. 21 (*flexus* for *victus*), iv. 6. 28 (*laetus* for *levis*), *Serm.*, i. 3. 131 (*ustrina* for *taberna*), although Garrod suggests by his proposal of *ustor* for *sutor* that *ustrina* may be correct), and in other instances. Not infrequently the choice of a reading is determined by the editor's faith in the honesty of Cruquius and the consequent authority of V.

To-day conjectural emendations are seldom justified except when the codices give an entirely unsatisfactory meaning, which is often a subjective question; or when their reading offers serious syntactical or lexical difficulties, which is more readily decided. An example of the latter sort is to be found in *Serm.*, i. 4. 26, where the manuscripts give *ob avaritiam aut misera ambitione* and Bentley proposed to read *ab avaritia*, because of the inconcinnity of the two expressions of cause. This in itself is an objection of some weight, which is not satisfactorily disposed of by examples from Sallust and Tacitus. But a stronger argument is, that *ab* with the ablative is frequent in the Latin writers in the sense of "suffer from anything," while *ob* and the accusative with that meaning is a construction unexampled elsewhere. I need not enlarge on this question, since it was discussed with Lejay in three notes.¹⁰ *Quanta laborabas Charybdi* (*Odes*, i. 27. 19) is not a parallel, since the meaning of *laborabas* is not "suffer from"; hence Oudendorp's suggestion of *ab Charybdi* is rightly rejected, not to mention the fact that *ab* before *c* is unexampled in Horace.¹¹ For *laborabas* Bentley suggested *laboras in*, which Vollmer accepts, but *laborabas* offers no objection because of its tense and is retained by Garrod.

Vollmer, in spite of his words about conjectures on p. vi of his Preface, *paucissima ipse tentavi, cetera contentus proponere qualia nobis servavit fortuna Horatiana*, admits a large number to his text, most of which

seem unnecessary. Garrod, as might be expected from his emphatic statement on p. viii, *ex coniecturis quae numero carent eas selegi quae aliquam similitudinem veri habere videantur. In alio campo iacula torquent Bentleii simii*, takes but few into his text, although in his critical apparatus he notes others as *forte recte, puto recte*, and *haud scio an recte*.

Some alterations of the text which affect the interpretation are mere matters of punctuation. One of these, which might fairly be called an emendation, is in *Serm.*, ii. 5. 91, where Samuelsson¹² simply by putting *non* and *etiam* in quotation marks gave the clause a satisfactory meaning and disposed of a serious syntactical difficulty; this change is accepted by Vollmer without credit to its author, but Garrod does not even note it. There are many other places where the punctuation affects the sense of a passage, which considerations of space make it impossible to cite. Whether the separation of *abnormis* into *ab normis* in *Serm.*, ii. 2. 3 belongs in this class is possibly an open question. Vollmer claims the emendation as his own (cf. *separavi* in his critical note), but it was first suggested by Lejay in 1903¹³ and printed in his edition of 1911. I think I showed in *Class. Weekly*, vi. 116 f. that the change is impossible for two reasons.

When we come to interpretation we find many differences of opinion, some of which are subjective and never likely to be reconciled. An example which the writer has discussed elsewhere¹⁴ is the meaning of *de tenero ungui* in *Odes*, iii. 6. 24. We clearly have two distinct expressions in Latin, *ex unguiculis* (Plaut., *Stich.* 761; Apul., *Met.* x. 22) and *a teneris unguiculis* (Cic., *Ad Fam.*, i. 6. 2). The suggestion of Fay¹⁵ that *unguiculis* refers to the toes rather than to the fingers is a plausible one, and I believe that he is right in thinking that the meaning is sometimes merely "from head to foot." But because of *tenero* the Horatian phrase seems to suggest youthfulness. My suggestion that we have a combination of the two ideas seems a reasonable one, and an eminent German Horatian accepted the translation of "with all her youthful soul."¹⁶

Another less complicated question, which involves a textual change, is that of *Mauri* or *Marsi peditis* in *Odes*, i. 2. 39. *Marsi* is the emendation of Faber, accepted by Bentley, Vollmer, and others. It seems to fit better with *peditis*, unless that word is taken in the somewhat doubtful sense of "unhorsed." Moreover, Horace often cites the *Marsi* as valiant enemies or allies of the Romans, and the connotation with Mars gives the word a special appropriateness in this connection. Yet it is at least safe to follow the manuscripts, as Garrod does.

In *Odes* i. 6. 2 the codices are unanimous for *alite*, but some editors balk at *Vario* as an ablative of agency without *ab*, and hence read *aliti*, which is supported by Servius. None of the examples usually cited in support of the ablative is entirely certain, but an undoubted instance of the ablative of agency without *ab* is to be found in *Odes*, ii. 4. 9 f. *barbarae postquam cecidere turmae Thessalo victore*. Here *cecidere* is equivalent to *caesi sunt* and in that sense not infrequently takes an ablative of agency.¹⁷

The decision between *incomptis* and *intonsis* in *Odes*, i. 12. 41 tests our faith in the *testimonia*, for Quintilian has *intonsis* and the codices read *incomptis*, which is supported by Servius. *Intonsis capillis* is a common expression, which may have led Quintilian astray if he quoted from memory, although on the other hand some regard its almost formulaic character as an argument for reading it here. It seems safer to follow the manuscripts with Garrod and with Vollmer, who cites *incomptis capillis* from Martial, i. 24. 1 (where the phrase is applied, though indirectly, to Curius), especially as Horace is apt to vary a familiar and conventional expression.

Media de nocte (*Serm.*, ii. 3. 238; *Epist.*, i. 7. 88) and similar expressions of time are sometimes mistranslated even by careful scholars. *Media de nocte* does not mean "at midnight," but "in the middle of the night," which is not the same thing; cf. *de tertia vigilia*, and similar phrases, which refer not to a point of time, but to a period of some duration. So too the frequent occurrence of *videtur* in the sense of "he seems" or "it seems" sometimes leads to the use of that meaning where it is not appropriate. Thus Ennius . . . *leviter curare videtur quo promissa cadant* (*Epist.*, ii. 1. 50 ff.) seems to mean "obviously cares little," rather than "seems to care little"; that is, *videtur* means "is seen." I have noted other examples of this meaning, and I suspect that a considerable number may be found in the Latin literature.

In *Serm.*, i. 1. 82 some editors make the positive assertion that *medicum roget* is the technical term for calling in a doctor. No one, so far as I have observed, supports this assertion by a parallel, not even Lejay, whose punctuation suggests that he takes the phrase in that sense, and there are other expressions of that idea, such as *medicum quaerere, arcessere, admovere* (Suet., *Nero*, 37), etc. Here the punctuation should make it clear how the phrase is taken; judged by that criterion Garrod takes it in the sense of "beg the doctor to save you," which I believe to be right; Vollmer in that of "call in a doctor, in order that he may save you."

An interesting passage is *Ars Poet.* 114, *intererit multum divusne loquatur an heros*, followed by a number of contrasts of the same general kind. To some the contrast between a god and a hero does not seem strong enough, either by itself or in connection with the contrasts that follow. They would read *Davus* (or *Davos*), as a typical slave name, which in *Ars Poet.*, 237 is contrasted with *Silenus*, a demi-god. There seems to be some warrant for making the change, which is palaeographically easy, and has some slight manuscript authority; it has recently been urged by Immisch in his suggestive study of the *Ars Poetica*.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the majority of the codices may be right and are followed by Vollmer and Garrod.¹⁹

In *Serm.*, ii. 2. 29 Vollmer and Garrod read *hac magis illam*, referring respectively to the chicken and the peacock, while Porphyrio read *hanc*, and the greater number of the codices have *illa*. If the ordinary rule for *hic* and *ille* is followed mechanically, *hanc magis illa* seems to be correct, but on the other hand *illam* might

well, and probably is, used of the rarer and less accessible bird and *hac* of the common fowl. Moreover, when the two are first mentioned (lines 23 ff.) *pavone* comes first. We have a similar variation of the regular rule in lines 36-37, where the poet's thought goes back to the original comparison of the two fish in 31-34. Many such questions might be discussed, but see *Serm.*, i. 1. 120 f.

If all this seems unimportant to anyone, I have no quarrel with him, though it might be replied that the search for truth, even in small matters, is worth while. At the same time, as was said before, one may read and enjoy Horace without much consideration of variant readings and interpretations. My own strongest feeling after several re-readings of the poet was one of regret that so many of our students never read all his works, and may even acquire a "liberal education," certified to by the degree of A. B., without even a slight acquaintance with a poet who has left us lyrics so straightforward and simple in their thought, so free from affectation, and at the same time so finished and perfect in their diction. This has been summed up in the well-known phrase of Petronius, who speaks of Horace's *curiosa felicitas*, which cannot well be translated by two words. At the same time he has given us in the Satires and Epistles a plain and homely philosophy of life, besides making us acquainted with his own personality, his successes and failures, his aims and ideals; and finally a picture of the Rome of his day with the many varying phases of its life. Let us hope that the coming celebration of his bimillennium may make him better known to those to whom he is no more than a famous name.

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NOTES

1. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, 21 f.; 23.
2. *De Gram.*, 24.
3. *Horace*; Teubner, Leipzig, ed. 2, 1912; see p. 4; and *Philologus*, Suppl., x, 261.
4. *Horace*, p. vi.
5. Holder, *Odes and Epodes*; Leipzig, ed. 2, 1899; Keller, *Satires and Epistles*, ed. 2, 1925.
6. Leipzig, 1879; p. vi.
7. p. vi.
8. *Horace*; Oxford, 1912 (a second, revised edition of Wickham, Oxford, 1900), p. viii. Besides the editions of Vollmer and Garrod two others are to be numbered as critical editions, namely Lejay's *Satires of Horace*, Paris, 1911, and Fairclough's *Satires and Epistles*, London, 1925; rev. ed., 1929.
9. Considerations of space prevent even a brief description of these manuscripts; see any of the critical editions and the Preface of Holder's edition of 1899.
10. *Class. Rev.*, xiv, 121 f.; *Rev. de Phil.*, xxxi, 58 f.; *Class. Phil.*, vii, 426 f.
11. See *Harvard Stud. in Class. Phil.*, xii, 254.
12. *Eranos*, iv (1900), 1 f.
13. *Mélanges Boissier*, 354.
14. *P. A. P. A.*, xxxiv, 55 ff.
15. *A. J. P.*, xxix, 201 ff.
16. H. Röhl, *Woch. für klass. Phil.*, xii (1910), 1368.
17. *Archiv für lat. Lex. und Gramm.*, X, 495.
18. *Philol. Suppl.*, xxiv, 3; and *Horazens Epistel über die Dichtkunst*, Leipzig, 1932, p. 73.
19. Erasmus' conjecture of *divesne an Irus* is keen but hardly acceptable. It does, however, indicate the feeling that a stronger contrast is needed, which is shared by many.

Persicos Odi

THACKERAEI PALINODIA IN HORATI CARM. I, 38

Seis, Lucia, quid me delectet,
exosus est Gallicus mos;
ciborum nos mollium taedet,
obsonia nec iuvant nos.
Ne servus vestitu decoro
post sellam stet, fac, gravior.
Ne fungos conquiras, te oro,
nec si fungus sit rarior!

Ovillam, o Lucia bella,
fac hora mi des tertia:
sit fumans, succosa, tenella:
quae esca sit tam regia?
Hac dominus fit satiatius,
haec reficit et famulam;
succendo canastrum, umbratus
dum bibo cerevisiam.

A. F. GEYSER, S. J.

Dear Lucy, you know what my wish is,
I hate all your Frenchified fuss;
Your silly entrées and made dishes
Were never intended for us.
No footman in lace and in ruffles
Need dangle behind my armchair.
And never mind seeking for truffles,
Although they be ever so rare.

A plain leg of mutton, my Lucy,
I prithee get ready at three;
Have it smoking, tender and juicy,
And what better meat can there be?
And when it has feasted the master,
'Twill amply suffice for the maid;
Meanwhile I will smoke my canaster,
And tiddle my ale in the shade.

W. M. THACKERAY

The subjoined note comes from an enthusiastic Horace class in Kansas:

Sententiae Selectae ex Carminibus Horatii Flacci

The students of the Horace class at Marymount College, Salina, Kansas, have arranged a list of fifty quotations from the Odes of Horace as a help to commemorate the poet's bimillennium. The quotations are short and pithy, easily translated, and illustrative of the poet's homely philosophy and sound good sense. The class will be pleased if high school teachers can use the quotations to introduce Horace in their classes. The list will be sent on receipt of 8 cents to cover postage and cost of preparation. Address: Department of Latin, Marymount College, Salina, Kansas.

A Subscriber

Here is an attempt to "introduce" Horace to high-school pupils. Fifty quotations from his Odes are not too numerous to be scattered through a year's work in, let us say, Fourth High, without disturbing the regular routine. They will not only serve as a foretaste of what awaits the college freshman who elects Latin, but will also impress upon the high-school student the extreme care with which the ancient Latin poet clothes even homely thought in exquisite attire.

